2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */kaus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doods* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//kabob* or *//karwob*); while the */Aunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*khei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witbooïs, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howeson*, from */howe* or */hoabe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooï.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gai //Khauan*, */Gami /Nun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and */Aunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-5.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/khau /aasi*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, 30, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

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the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witboois) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartbooi, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Garin*, the */Gari /Naganan* or "next" */Garin*, and the */Gari /Karin* or little */Garin*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Naganan*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */kau /nani*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gai khai /oa*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gai khai /oa* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Garin* will be called */Garib*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khaoab* will be called *//Khaoas*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaib*, hence */Gari gaib*, the second the next one, */naganab*, hence */Gari /naganab*, the third the dark one, */aub*, or the light one, */haib*, or the tall one, *garab*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, */aoni*, or the little one, */kurib*, hence */Gari /kurib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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175 some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable [191] infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced 175 by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Orlams by the indigenous people, a name the 101 origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Orlams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //oin*), the Witbooi (*/Hobesen*), the Bethany Hottentots (*!Aman*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauan*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauan*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are [173] taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauan* from the personal name, */Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hobesen*, from */hobe* or */howe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

173 The indigenous people were in historical times divided into 101 seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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were once, so he said, five brothers, each one of whom was the founder of a tribe of the Nama. The eldest was the ancestor of the *Gei //Khauan*, or Rooi Natie, the tribe acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. The other brothers are said to have founded the *!Gami ≠nun* or Bondelswarts, the *//Haboben* or Veldschoendragers, the *!Kbara Gei Khoin* or the Simon Kopper Hottentots, and the *//Khau /goan* or the Swartboois, who are said to be the descendants of the youngest brother. According to another legend, the *//Haboben* are a branch of the *!Gami ≠nun*, and this agrees with the information given to us by the traveller Sir James Alexander, who reports that when he visited the *!Gami ≠nun* in 1836 the *//Haboben* were still part of the people owing obedience to the *!Gami ≠nun* chief.[2] The other two major groups of these Nama people, the *//O gein* or Groot Doode, and the *≠Aunin* or Topnaars or *!Gumin*, are not linked up with the others in the legend of the five brothers, but they themselves claim to be offshoots from the Rooi Natie, and the Rooi Natie on their side support this claim.

The names of these tribes are in many instances exactly translated by the Dutch names by which they are now chiefly known. Thus the *//O Gein* are the great dead, or Groot Doode as the Dutch has it; the *!Gami ≠Nun* are the people of the black bundle or Swart Bondel. Their own legend concerning their name is that they once formed one group with the Rooi Natie; that on the death of an old chief his sons quarreled among themselves, the elder going off with his supporters, while the younger brother stayed behind with his little group of people huddled together so that they looked like a little black bundle. The *//Haboben* are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch, *Veldschoen*, Nama, *//Habob* or *//Hawob*). The Rooi Natie and the Swartboois are closely related. As late as 1855 the chief of the Rooi Natie expected the Swartboois to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., but they did not always do so.[3] The Nama names by which these two groups are called still record this close

[2] Sir James Alexander, An Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838. Pp. 187, 197.

[3] Berichte der Rheinischen Mission, 1855, p. 18.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River.
173 He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kora*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[2]

115 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the
173 Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[3] He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

[2] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[3] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: "Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khora. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots' Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Koranna are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T'Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift)."[4]

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the "trek" would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Sanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

But consider, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the second language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kaptein or Jan Taaibosch,[5] and from whom he most probably learnt that "the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

[4] B. C. p. 290.
[5] See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : " The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony " and he adds what seems his inference : " the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachoqua*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachoqua*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

[7] B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

[8] For a full discussion, see my study " The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. *passim*

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1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The " trek " of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the " riem " episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the " trek " of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wuras collected from a very old Kora " near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called " *Chei am ᵒaub* " was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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12 Moodie I. 445.
13 See genealogical lists further on.
14 Md. I. p. 318.
15 See " The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16]

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the " Right Hand " tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great " trek " from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the " Links " or " Left Hand " tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came " from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up."

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

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16 *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

17 Op. cit. p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touns, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Koranna women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[1] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[2] and by Molema[3] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.
[1] Lindley-*Adamantia*, p. 10-11.
[2] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[3] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 136.
[5] G. M. II. p. 78-138.

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128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//are mŋ// ais* at Bloemhof.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

● 173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 The Korana people say *huri xu da na xũ !kũ* " we come from the
167 sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xũ* means " to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply " to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *ǂ≠hûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats. 173 167 [492 501]

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the " left-hand " tribe or the " Links " (i.e., the Afrikaans word for " left " and has nothing to do with " Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left. 173 619

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said. 173

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of *!Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the " Links " (*//are mŋ //ais* and the " Taaibosch " (*kei !korana*). 173 619

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the " Links " was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/kei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*ǂ≠Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo. 173 619 167

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the " Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khwekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the " Links " was wounded, but the " Taaibosch " were destroyed. The chief of the " Links " took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the " Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurīb xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kū ha o, inkje kei !korakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kū a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāugu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mūe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutami (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa sîe, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāugu khwekwa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). *≠Untup*, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for " head " and " tongue " shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for " wolf " and " tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, " milk " is the same in Korana and Cape (*bib*) as against Nama *deip*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study (" Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *biquaan* " dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt " ; of *qu'ein* : " *qu'* ist mir unerklärlich " ; of *kamqua :* " das *k* . . . am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart ; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hotentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hotentot endings of the names : 173 551

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that :

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */kutsi* and *Onas* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

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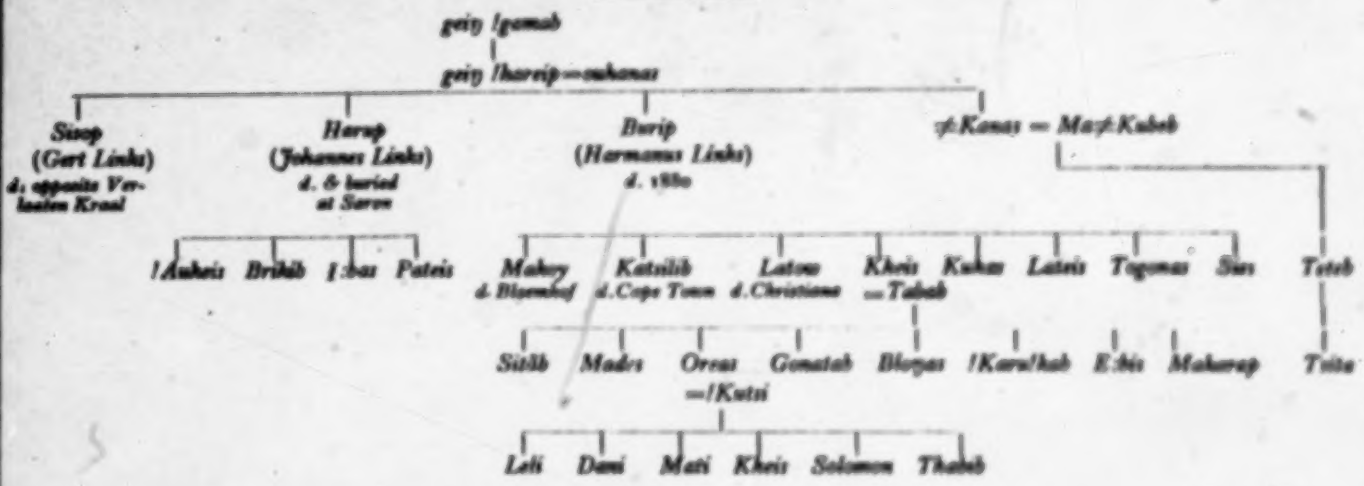
GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

(i)

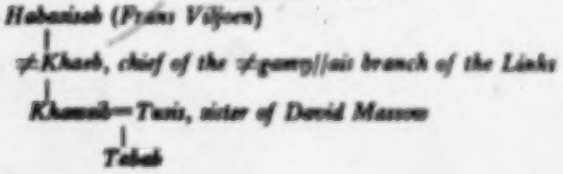
(ii)

Kora
Eihomo
Kuebib
Kongap
Kuenonkeip
Mahabuté
Kaub
Hanto
Kopi

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF *TABAB*, HUSBAND OF *KHEIS*



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GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources:

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291);

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292);

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family. (*The Native Race of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *Atungy* may = *Awoumbei* (*p*)

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kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *ku*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *ku* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *kouga* (*p*); and (c) *gaun* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

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173 114 *Kopi* and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Marmora before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*. C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Mannow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

173 113 Sources: Informants at Bloemhof; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Tetsh*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

173 114 *grey !harsip*, " great " or " old Harsip " is the " alte Harsip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, *he* was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudaop*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *a* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

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syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiy !hariip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Oukamas, " old Hanna " is the pious " alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hariip " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Bruns (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Tetab* of Bloemhof). He must—

Katalib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Tetab* is now looked upon as the *goanaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Uvdb, the *Uruu* of the Berichte and the *Oviou* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiy !hariip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, those members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiy !hariip* ; (ii)

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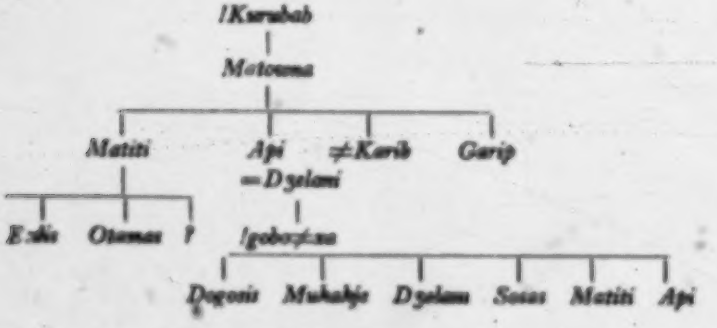
old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *geiŋ !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursôb?* (iii) the unnamed daughter of *geiŋ !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of *geiŋ !hariep's* sons.

GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habanisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneehage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab's* birthplace was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO≠XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*